

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 050900Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5832

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T THE HAGUE 2274

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, SP, NL

SUBJ: SPAIN AND NATO; THE PROBLEM OF DUTCH ANTI-FRANCOISM

REF: A. THE HAGUE 1984; B. LONDON 6417; C. STATE 91998

1. IN VIEW OF FONMIN VAN DER STOEL'S PARTICULARLY DOUR REACTION ON APRIL 16TH WHEN I RAISED POSSIBLE SPANISH AFFILIATION WITH NATO REPORTED APRIL 18TH (REF A) AND THE DUTCH PERMREPS NEGATIVE COMMENTS, WE HAVE BEEN EVALUATING HOW BEST TO INDUCE THE DUTCH TO ALTER THEIR ADAMANT OPPOSITION.

2. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE FONOFF IS WELL DUG IN ON THIS ISSUE
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AND IS EVEN PREPARED TO LOBBY AGAINST ANY CONCESSION TO SPAIN (REF B). FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR RUTTEN, REFERRING TO REPORT OF DEP ASST SECRETARY LOWENSTEIN'S MEETING WITH THE NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR, HAS TOLD DCM THERE IS NO POINT ON BANGING ON THE

WORKING LEVEL DOOR, SINCE THE SPANISH QUESTION IS STRICTLY A POLITICAL ONE WITH WHICH ONLY THE MINISTERS CAN DEAL.

3. THE GON OFFICIAL POSITION HAS POPULAR SUPPORT BECAUSE ANTI-FRANCO SENTIMENT IS NOT A PHENOMENON OF THE LEFT BUT RUNS DEEPLY ACROSS THE WHOLE DUTCH POLITICAL SPECTRUM AS I HAVE DETERMINED FROM RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH OPPOSITION LEADERS AND TRANSPORT MINISTER WESTERTEP OF THE CATHOLIC PARTY, A FORMER STATE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. CARE, THEREFORE, WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN TO PREVENT THIS ISSUE FROM ADVERSELY IMPACTING ON DUTCH SOLIDARITY FOR NATO. AS LAST MONTHS LABOR PARTY CONGRESS AMPLY DEMONSTRATED, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE ANTI-NATO SENTIMENT ALREADY IN THE NETHERLANDS, ALTHOUGH PRIMARILY CONCENTRATED IN THE LEFT. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS ANTI-NATO GROUP IS HYPER-VOCAL AND CONTROLS A DISPROPORTIONATE SEGMENT OF THE MEDIA. HOWEVER, AS INDICATED, "FRANCO-PHOBIA" IS WIDESPREAD THROUGHOUT THE DUTCH POLITY AND ANY ACTIVITIES INTERPRETED AS TRYING TO SMUGGLE SPAIN INTO NATO BEFORE THE SPANISH SYSTEM TRANSFORMS WILL CAUSE SOME OF THOSE WHO ARE ANTI-SPANISH TO BECOME ANTI-NATO AS WELL.

4. WE ARE THEREFORE CONVINCED THAT TO ALTER DUTCH ANTI-FRANCOISM WE WILL FIRST HAVE TO ATTENUATE THE HOSTILITY OF THE TOP POLITICIANS. AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN THIS PROCESS WILL BE WHEN THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY MEET WITH PM DEN UYL AND FONMIN VAN DER STOEL ON MAY 14. WE RECOMMEND THE ISSUE BE RAISED DIRECTLY WITH THEM AT THAT TIME. PERHAPS THE BEST WAY TO APPROACH THE QUESTION WOULD BE TO ASK THE ADVICE OF DEN UYL AND VAN DER STOEL ON WHAT PLANS SHOULD BE MADE TO EASE THE SPANISH TRANSITION TO THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE ARDENTLY DESIRED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND OTHER NATO ALLIES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE ARGUMENT FOR DEVELOPING LINKS BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO SHOULD NOT BE PREDICATED SIMPLY ON DEFENSE GROUNDS-ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE ESSENTIALITY OF THE SPANISH ROLE TO NATO'S OVERALL DEFENSE. SUCH LINKS SHOULD ALSO BE VIEWED AS A MEANS OF FACILITATING THE ADVENT OF A NEW SPANISH REGIME.

5. IT WILL BE EASIER TO SELL THE DUTCH IF WE SOLICIT THEIR
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ADVICE AND RECOMMENDATIONS RATHER THAN TRY TO CHANGE THEIR IDEES FIXE THROUGH ARGUMENT. WE SHOULD MAKE THEM FEEL THAT THEIR VIEWS WILL BE RESPECTED AND THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE SOMETHING TRULY CREATIVE TO CONTRIBUTE. IT WOULD SEEM HIGHLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO OUR OBJECTIVES IF WE ARE ABLE TO BRING THE DUTCH INTO PROGRAM FORMULATION AT THE EARLIEST STAGES AND INDUCE THEM TO ASSUME SOME SORT OF CREATIVE ROLE. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THEY DO HAVE GOOD CONTACTS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THOSE IN EXILE, AND MIGHT BE WILLING TO UTILIZE THOSE CONTACTS FOR EXPLORATORY PURPOSES SO LONG AS THE DUTCH DO NOT FEEL THAT THEY WILL BE CALLED UPON TO ACCEPT A FAIT ACCOMPLI INSTIGATED BY THE US.

6. INTEND TO DISCUSS THE NATO AFFILIATION QUESTION WITH SPANISH
AMBASSADOR TO NETHERLANDS SEDO, AN OLD FRIEND, TO OBTAIN
HIS ASSESSMENT OF HOW BEST TO ALTER THE DUTCH IDEE FIXE VIS-
A-VIS SPAIN.
GOULD

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